

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 153393

NODIS

FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT MAPUTO 741, ACTION SECSTATE INFO LONDON
15 JUNE:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0741

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

FROM LOW

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: PROPOSED LOW LEVEL ALL PARTIES MEETING

REF: GRAHAM AND GRAHAM/LOW MESSAGES OF 14 JUNE SENT THROUGH
UK CHANNELS TO LONDON.

1. FOLLOWING ARE SOME THOUGHTS ON THE MEETING PROPOSED
BY DAVID SMITH AND THE DEPUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO
GRAHAM AND ME ON 14 JUNE.

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2. THE PROPOSAL APPEARS TO HAVE COME ENTIRELY FROM
DAVID (AND IAN) SMITH. GAYLORD WAS VERY POSSIBLY IN ON IT
SINCE HE TALKED IN TERMS OF A MEEETING ON THE LEVEL
OF "OFFICIALS" WITH US LAST FRIDAY. THOUGH NEITHER
GRAHAM NOR I BELIEVE HE FEELS POSITIVE ABOUT IT. WE
BELIEVE IT WAS SPRUNG ON THE AFRICAN MEMBERS WHO WOULD

NOT OTHERWISE HAVE AGREED TO GO ALONG. THE "LOW LEVEL" AND SECRET NATURE OF THE MEETING ARE EFFORTS BY THE POLITICIANS WHO ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT POLITICAL CONFIDENCE IN THEM WILL BE UNDERMINED BY AGREEING TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE WHICH BY IMPLICATION THROWS INTO QUESTION THE CREDIBILITY OF THE 3 MARCH AGREEMENT.

3. WHILE DAVID SMITH TOLD GRAHAM THAT HE WAS CONCERNED OVER THE DEVELOPING SITUATION AND HIS SUGGESTION MAY HAVE BEEN A GENUINE EFFORT TO TRY TO COME TO GRIPS WITH IT. THERE MAY HAVE BEEN OTHER PURPOSES TOO. THE SALISBURY GROUP IS CHIEFLY CONCERNED WITH RECOGNIZATION AND RESPECTABILITY AND GRAHAM AND I HAVE PLAYED ON THIS IN URGING ATTENDANCE AT ALL PARTIES MEETING. IF THEY AGREE TO GO TO A LOW LEVEL AND SECRET CONFERENCE WHICH THEN BREAKS DOWN, THEY CAN RELIEVE SOME OF OUR PRESSURE ON THEM TO ATTEND A MEETING AND, BY PUBLICIZING THE BREAK LOOK MORE REASONABLE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. THIS MIGHT HELP THEM GET ACCEPTABILITY FOR THEIR ELECTION EVEN IF THE TURNOUT IS NOT LARGE.

4. THERE WILL BE SERIOUS PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN SETTING UP THIS MEETING. BOTH THE RHODESIANS AND THE PF WILL MAKE AN ISSUE OVER THE NUMBERS INVOLVED (PF WILL INSIST ON, AND RHODESIANS RESIST, EQUALITY) AND AGENDA (PF WILL WANT TO DISCUSS "MILITARY AND RELATED MATTERS", THE CONFIDENTIAL

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RHODESIANS THE CONSTITUTION). MORE DIFFICULT WILL BE TO GET THE PF TO AGREE TO A SECRET LOW LEVEL MEETING PARTICULARLY THE LATTER. NKOMO WILL SCOFF AND RAIL, HE WILL SAY THAT NOTHING CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BELOW THE POLITICAL LEVEL. WHO DO EITHER OF THE PF LEADERS HAVE TO SEND BELOW THEMSELVES. BUT HE HAS AGREED TO ATTEND AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE AND HE WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY REFUSING PARTICULARLY BECAUSE THE FRONT LINE (KAUNDA) HAS ALL ALONG SUPPORTED "COMMITTEE" TYPE DISCUSSIONS AND AGREES THAT A FULL SCALE MEETING SHOULD BE PREPARED.

5. THE GREATEST PROBLEM IS HOW TO MAKE THE CONFERENCE WORK. HOW CAN LOWER LEVEL POLITICALS AND OFFICIALS GET BEYOND REHEARSING THEIR POSITIONS TO EACH OTHER? AS GAYLORD HIMSELF SAID THE BEST MEETING POSSIBLE WOULD BE TO GET THE FOUR (OR FIVE) AFRICAN PARTY LEADERS (AND SMITH?) IN A ROOM WITH NO ONE ELSE THERE AND NOT LET THEM OUT UNTIL THEY HAD COME TO AN AGREEMENT. EACH SIDE APPROACHES THE MEETING FROM ITS OWN PLAN WHICH IT INSISTS SHOULD BE THE BASIS OF DISCUSSION. IT IS POSSIBLE TO LAY THEM TOGETHER SIDE BY SIDE AND COMPARE

THEM POINTING OUT SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES. BUT GETTING EITHER SIDE--AT THIS LEVEL-- TO DISCUSS SOMETHING OTHER THAN ITS OWN PLAN WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT. A MEETING OF ALL PARTIES AT THE LEVEL OF PRINCIPALS IS DESIRABLE BECAUSE WE CAN BRING STRONG POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THEM FROM THE OUTSIDE USING SECRETARY VANCE, DR. OWEN, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS EVEN PERHAPS VORSTER. BUT AT THE LOWER LEVELS THE LINES GO TO THE PRINCIPALS BACK HOME AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES ARE LESS EFFECTIVE.

6. IF NKOMO AND MUGABE THEMSELVES DECIDED TO GO, WE WONDER WHETHER WE COULD GET THE SALISBURY GROUP TO RAISE ITS LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION. IN OUR VIEW DAVID SMITH WOULD BE MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE AND POSITIVE
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A REPRESENTATION THAN JACK GAYLORD.

7. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT WE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPENING. THE PROBLEM IS HOW TO DO IT TO BEST ADVANTAGE. IN PARTICULAR IS HOW WE GET BEYOND THE FIRST MEETING. ON THE ONE HAND A MEETING OR CONFERENCE AT THE PRINCIPALS LEVEL WHICH IS NOT CAREFULLY PREPARED IS NOT LIKELY TO SUCCEED. ON THE OTHER HAND A MEETING TO PREPARE THE CONFERENCE ON TOO LOW A LEVEL MAY NOT GET VERY FAR AND COULD SPOIL THE CHANCES OF A LATER CONFERENCE OF PRINCIPALS. THUS I AM LED TO BELIEVE THAT SMITH'S SUGGESTION NEEDS SETTLEMENT. SECRECY, IF IT CAN MAINTAIN, IS PROBABLY USEFUL. BUT WE SHOULD TRY TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION, THOUGH THAT WILL MAKE SECRECY HARDER TO PRESERVE, AND THIS WILL BE RESISTED IN SALISBURY.

8. ANY COMMENTS DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO ME IN DAR (JUNE 16) OR LUSAKA JUNE 17-19) DE PREE UNQUOTE. NEWSOM

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